

THE INDIAN NATIONS.

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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens. 562
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Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage. 581
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When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that 593
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duce of the labour of woman, such as beans, Indian corn, 584
or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bride-
groom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daugh-
ter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards
the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good
news to each other, that the young people have pronoun-
ced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is
struck. It is as much as if the young man had said to the
girl, "I am able to provide you at all times with meat
"to eat!" and she had replied, "and such good victuals
"from the field, you shall have from me!" From this
time not only presents of this kind are continued on both
sides, but articles of clothing are presented to the parents
by each party, by way of return for what they have re-
ceived, of which the young people always have a share. [572]
The friendship between the two families daily increasing,
they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when
the young people have agreed to live together, the pa-
rents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes
or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and
with axes, hoes, &c. to work in the field.

The men who have no parents to negotiate for them,
or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves,
have two simple ways of attaining their object. The
first is: by stepping up to the woman whom they wish
to marry, saying: "If you are willing I will take you as
"wife!" when if she answer in the affirmative, she [583]
either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an
appointed time and place.

The other mode of celebrating marriage will appear 584
from the following anecdote. 586

An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much
of his time among the white people both in Pennsylvan-
ia and New Jersey, one day about the year 1770 ob-
served, that the Indians had not only a much easier
way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more
certain of getting a good one; "For," (said he in his bro-

584 ken English,) "White man court,—court,—may be one
 586 "whole year!—may be two year before he marry!—well!
 "—may be then got very good wife—but may be not!—
 "may be very cross!—Well now, suppose cross! scold
 "so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day!
 "scold until sleep!—all one; he must keep him!* White
 "people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be
 "he ever so cross! must keep him always! Well!
 "how does Indian do?—Indian when he see industrious
 "Squaw, which he like, he go to him, place his two fore-
 "fingers close aside each other, make two look like one
 "—look Squaw in the face—see him smile—which is all
 "one he say, Yes! so he take him home—no danger he
 "be cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian
 "do if he cross!—throw him away and take another!
 "Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw
 "do every thing to please husband! he do the same to
 "please Squaw! live happy!"

CHAPTER XVII.

RESPECT FOR THE AGED.

388 THERE is no nation in the world who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians. From their infancy they are taught to be kind and attentive to aged persons, and never to let them suffer for want of necessaries or comforts. The parents spare no pains to impress upon the minds of their children the conviction

* The pronouns in the Indian language have no feminine gender.

352

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF

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Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my
the root of the may-apple, which is commonly used on
such occasions, in order to poison themselves, in which
they all succeeded, except one. Two of them were young
men, who had been disappointed in love, the girls on
whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were
engaged, having changed their minds and married other
lovers. They both put an end to their existence. The
two others were married men. Their stories, as pictures
of Indian manners, will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting.

One of those unfortunate men was a person of an excellent character, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had a wife whom he was very fond of and two children, and they lived very happily together at the distance of about half a mile from the place where I resided. He often came to visit me, and as he was of a most amiable disposition, I was pleased with his visits, and always gave him a hearty welcome. When I thought he was too long without coming, I went myself to the delightful spot which he had judiciously selected for his dwelling. Here I always found the family cheerful, sociable and happy, until some time before the fatal catastrophe happened, when I observed that my friend's countenance bore the marks of deep melancholy, of which I afterwards learned the cause. His wife had received the visits of another man; he foresaw that he would soon be obliged to separate from her, and he shuddered when he thought that he must also part from his two lovely children; for it is the custom of the Indians, that when a divorce takes place between husband and wife, the children remain with their mother, until they are of a proper age to choose for themselves. One hope, however, still remained. The sugar-making season was at hand, and they were shortly to remove to their sugar camp, where he flattered himself his wife would not be followed by the disturber of his peace, whose residence was about ten miles from thence. But this hope was of short duration. They had hardly been

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585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).⁶⁴ This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.⁶⁵

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An Indian may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the English in things both good & bad."⁶⁶ Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."⁶⁷ The sororate was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.⁶⁸ Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."⁶⁹

586 Divorce. — Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.⁷⁰ Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.⁷¹ Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.⁷² Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"⁷³

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[834] Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.⁷⁴ During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

⁶⁴Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.

⁶⁵Holm, 1834, p. 126; Lookiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.

⁶⁶Denton, 1845, p. 9.

⁶⁷Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

⁶⁸Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.

⁶⁹Trowbridge MS.

⁷⁰De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trow-

bridge MS.

⁷¹Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.

⁷²De Raaijeren, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.

⁷³Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.

⁷⁴Penn, 1913, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

A History of the Indians.

79

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good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.²⁰¹

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

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Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

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If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

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177

513 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [514] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continuing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. 837 Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are 582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

A History of the Indians.

85

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun.

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

648 and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

622 It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

622 In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.²⁰³ No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

A History of the Indians.

99

If a divorce takes place they follow the mother. Those that are grown up may stay with the father if they please. Herein again is to be found reason for the conduct of parents towards their children. They never oppose their inclinations in order not to lose their affection. Parents never know how soon they may be separated, and both parties, in that event, fearing desertion by their children, are very desirous of gaining and retaining their love and affection. The Indians, therefore, regard their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me and I am not concerned about her, she is only my wife. This satanic notion it is very difficult to uproot. 586●

To return again to the matter of selection of a chief; as his sons cannot, for the reasons named, succeed him, a great grandchild or nephew may become chief, that is, either his daughter's daughter's son or his sister's son, so that the privilege of becoming Chief cannot be confined to too intimate relationship. 622

The principal duty of the first chief is to maintain the peace and covenants made between his people and the other Indian nations and the Europeans as also to carry on a kind of correspondence with them, all of which is generally done with the advice and consent of the chiefs of the Turkey and Wolf tribes, unless they are absent. It is further the particular duty of the principal chief to see to it that nothing is neglected and when necessary to send embassies. Finding that it is necessary to take action in some matter he summons the council, submits the subject and lets them deliberate which often demands of them much thought and attention. Another of his duties is that of keeping the people together and preventing any unnecessary dispersion. Much depends, therefore, on whether a chief is beloved of his people. Where this is lacking the Indians are like a swarm of bees without a queen bee. A chief must prevent all disorders in his town, have an eye to justice, and seek to do away with strife with the aid of his counsellors. But he may not seek to do this by force or severity but only by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation. Usually, the Indians are amenable to good words. In a general way the Indians pay due honor and respect to their chiefs, though there are some who

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; O.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organisation

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

	Any superiority among wives.....		+ + -	-					
142.	strongest.....		+ + -	-					
143.	oldest.....								+
144.	youngest.....								
145.	Polyandry.....		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
146.	Sororate — polygynous.....			+ + +	-	-	-	-	+
147.	Sororate — succcessive.....	+	+ + +	-					+
148.	Sororate — obligatory.....	-	*+ -		*	+	+	+	-
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter.....		+ + +	-	-	-	-	-	.
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman.....	+ +	+ + +	. + +	+	+	+	+	.
151.	Equally so in the man.....		+ + +	.	+	+	+	+	.
152.	Punished only by separation.....	+ -	(-) + + +		+	(+) + +	+	+	
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity.....	+ +	+ + . + +		+	+	+	+	
154.	Without any particular cause.....	+ +	+ + + + +	-	-	+	+	+	
155.	May be limited by husband.....		+ + + + +						+
156.	by wife.....	+	+ + + + +						+
157.	Women seldom get divorce.....		+ + + + +						-
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves.....	+	+ + + + *	+	+	+	+	+	*+
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship.....			+ +					
160.	to any known degree.....		+ + +						+
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common.....	+	+ . .	-	-	-	-	-	+
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married.....		+ + + +	.	.	.	.	.	+
163.	Commonly.....		- - - -						+
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children.....	+	+ + + -	-	-	-	-	-	+
165.	Injurious to their reputations.....	+	+ * + +	-	-	-	-	-	+
166.	Are they punished.....	-	- - - -						-
167.	Affect chances of marriage.....	-	- - +						+
168.	Proportion of married women without children †.....								
169.	Average number of children in family.....		* 4-5 3 • 12 12 12 4-5 8-10						
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.).....		2-3 • 2 2 1 2-3 2+						
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children.....		16 • 16 30 21 20 20						
172.	Age to cease.....		40 • 40 50+ 70 • 50						
173.	Age that men commonly get married	•	18- 20 14-	15- 25 F30 F24	20 20 •	25 25 20	25 21 21	F20 17+ F20	
174.	Age that women commonly get married.....	•	16	• F24	20 20 20	20 20 20	21 21 21	F20 F20 F20	

condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active. 595
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In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. [367] A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect.

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows 588
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592 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together
 595 they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but “one woman is generally a match for a man,” and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. *Polygynous sororate obligatory*

595 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his
 597 wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. *Following divorce children stay with mother*

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. *Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother*

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. *Proportion of married women without children*

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

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581 Divorce and family instability were

●586 common; many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are often neglected."⁹ The father was absent,

581 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or

855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to

796 "own" the children.¹⁰ During one of the annual calendar of, ceremonies, young

861 children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.¹¹

[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food provider.¹²

855 The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around the house to help the mother at work.¹³

754 When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.¹⁴

155 It would seem that the mother-figure remained a symbol of possible delights
593 which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENTS IN MATURITY

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept

[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.

10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.

11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.

12. *Ibid.*; Harrington, 1921.

13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.

14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.¹⁵ In practice

• 586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.¹⁶ Occasionally a man, his

[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.¹⁷ The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.¹⁸

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in the chase, and in various other life crises.¹⁹

521 Men were more at ease with one another

[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they

[593] heard from a woman.²⁰ It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."²¹ Old

989 women were accused by the men of being

439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.²²

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.

16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.

17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.

18. Lindstrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.

19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindstrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.

20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.

21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.

22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
 157 have been owing to the fact that they were
 much more restricted in childhood than
 their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware
 society was there the model of anyone
 592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
 622 father ruled the roost at home in an
 625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no
 power to enforce their wishes, and there
 was no conception of a state with police
 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent
 and could be initiated by either party
 simply leaving the other.³⁶ Supernatural
 776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who
 regularly punished the wicked and re-
 rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned
 rather with a supernatural guardian spirit
 who acted as a comrade and friend who
 would assist his mortal protege in critical
 passes. Shame and pride are more frequent
 themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
 577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century
 Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual
 purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical
 conduct, but rather . . . through the
 observance of taboo regulations prescribed
 by ancient rulings."³⁷

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
 577 the Delaware often did not develop a
 strong authoritarian, coercive conscience;
 moral values (which certainly were recog-
 nized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic
 character; "good" and "bad" had a light
 affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
 626 in less discipline and autocracy than was
 fashionable in eighteenth century Europe,
 was still puzzled as to how a society without
 authority could hold together. "Judged by
 the mere appearance of the Indians," he
 wrote, "one is surprised how modest and
 careful they are in relation to each other
 and imagines that the whites, if they were
 as free a people and had neither govern-
 ment nor punishment to fear, would not
 be as united and peaceable as the Indians
 626 appear to be."³⁸ This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1776, pp.
 20-21.

37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.

38. Zeisberger, 1776, p. 122.